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PREFACE

The information included in this volume was obtained during the years 1908–1913 while employed by the Bureau of American Ethnology and on private expeditions. In all cases wherever it was possible the author tried to obtain his information in Winnebago, although the English version is printed here. Owing to the fact that the Winnebago have for some time been accustomed to the use of a syllabic alphabet borrowed from the Sauk and Fox, it was a comparatively easy task to induce them to write down their mythology and, at times, their ceremonies, and then have an interpreter translate them. As the author has a fair command of Winnebago grammar, he was able to control these translations and thus insure their approximate accuracy. On account of the importance of having as accurate a record of the ceremonies as possible, those few ceremonies that were obtained in syllabic text were subsequently taken down in phonetic text.

It has been the aim of the author to separate as definitely as possible his own comments from the actual data obtained, and for that reason every chapter, with the exception of those on history, archeology, and material culture, is divided into two parts, a discussion of the data and the data itself.

Certain subjects, such as mythology, art, and music, have been entirely omitted. In order to discuss the second a comparative study of woodland art and design would have been necessary, which would have entailed a prolonged study at different museums; and to discuss the latter, specific training and knowledge were demanded, which the author does not possess.

The following monograph does not claim to be a comparative study, but simply an intensive an investigation as the time spent allowed, of an unusually interesting tribe, made under exceptionally propitious conditions. It is principally the raw material that is presented here. Throughout the work, the Indian has been allowed to tell the facts in his own way. For that reason no attempt has been made to change the English, except when it was ungrammatical or unintelligible. This will explain the simple and at times poor English of the accounts.

The work ends rather abruptly because the section on mythology and the general conclusion have been reserved for special treatment.

In conclusion, the author wishes to thank all those Winnebago who helped him since he first came among them. In particular does

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173 The other tribes of the second "migration" have semihistorical legends telling of their separation from the Winnebago. Major Bean told Maximilian that an Oto chief had informed him that originally the Winnebago inhabited the lakes and that they subsequently migrated to the Southwest, presumably in pursuit of buffalo. At Green Bay they divided, the Winnebago remaining there while the others continued their journey.

Dorsey was informed by Iowa chiefs[1] that "their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha, and Ponca 'once formed part of the Winnebago nation.' According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their prisean home north of the Great Lakes, but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan), attracted by the abundant fish."

101 When the Winnebago were first discovered they were entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes. To the north of them lay the Menominee on the shore of Green Bay, to the southeast the Miami, to the south and southwest the Sauk and Fox, and to the west the Ojibwa. The nearest of their kindred were in southern Iowa, western Wisconsin, and eastern Minnesota. Under these circumstances it is not strange that the Winnebago show marked evidence [177] of Central Algonquian influence (fig. 1).

174 At what time the Winnebago were isolated from their Siouan kindred it is impossible to state. We doubt, however, whether this occurred before the sixteenth century. The Central Algonquian tribes in this region are clearly intruders. The Ojibwa came from the northeast and the Fox, Miami, etc., from the south and the southeast. It seems clear, to judge from the number of effigy mounds found in the territory occupied by the Fox and Miami, that the Winnebago had lived there for a considerable length of time before they were pushed westward and northwestward by these tribes. When the Menominee arrived, and from what direction, it is difficult to determine. On purely linguistic grounds, judging from the close relationship of Menominee to Fox, we might assume that they, like the Fox and the Miami, entered Wisconsin from the south. In that case they might either be interpreted as representing the northernmost extension of the same migration which carried the Miami northward along the shore of Lake Michigan or as representing a prior invasion along the same route. If the latter assumption is correct, they may have arrived in Wisconsin before the Winnebago. One point seems [648] to confirm the thesis of their priority, namely, that they were never at war with the Winnebago, and it hardly seems possible that, had

[1] Handbook of Amer. Indn., Bur. Amer. Ethn., Bull. 30, part 1, p. 613, Washington, 1907.

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They say that the tobacco was given to them directly and that Earthmaker loves the Winnebago more than any other race. For that reason they were very clever. Now this is what the old men have said and handed down to us. 173 276

Once something appeared in the middle of the lake (Green Bay). They were the French; they were the first to come to the Winnebago. The ship came nearer and the Winnebago went to the edge of the lake with offerings of tobacco and white deerskins. There they stood. When the French were about to come ashore they fired their guns off in the air as a salute to the Indians. The Indians said, "They are thunderbirds." They had never heard the report of a gun before that time and that is why they thought they were thunderbirds. 173 276 648 177

Then the French landed their boats and came ashore and extended their hands to the Winnebago, and the Indians put tobacco in their hands. The French, of course, wanted to shake hands with the Indians. They did not know what tobacco was, and therefore did not know what to do with it. Some of the Winnebago poured tobacco on their heads, asking them for victory in war. The French tried to speak to them, but they could not, of course, make themselves understood. After a while they discovered that they were without tools, so they taught the Indians how to use an ax and chop a tree down. The Indians, however, were afraid of it, because they thought that the ax was holy. Then the French taught the Indians how to use guns, but they held aloof for a long time through fear, thinking that all these things were holy.

Suddenly a Frenchman saw an old man smoking and poured water on him. They knew nothing about smoking or tobacco. After a while they got more accustomed to one another. The Indians learned how to shoot the guns and began trading objects for axes. They would give furs and things of that nature for the guns, knives, and axes of the whites. They still considered them holy, however. Finally they learned how to handle guns quite well and they liked them very much. They would even build fires at night so that they might try their guns, for they could not wait for the day, they were so impatient. When they were out of ammunition they would go to the traders and tell their people that they would soon return. By this time they had learned to make themselves understood by various signs. [439]

The second time they went to visit the French they took with them all the various articles that they possessed. There the French taught them how to sew, how to use an ax, and how to use a knife. Then the leader of the whites took a liking to a Winnebago girl, the daughter of the chief, and he asked her parents for permission to marry her. They told him that her two brothers had the right to give her away in marriage. So he asked them and they consented. 173 648 [177]

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as the descendants of that family and the object that he said was sacred (the drum) is indeed sacred. It is powerful to the present day. His descendants are the most intelligent of all the people and they are becoming more intelligent all the time. What they did was the best that could be done. The ways of the white man are the best. This is the way they were brought up.

This is the end of the history of the Decoras.

One of the interesting developments resulting from the Indian contact with the whites has been the appearance of prophets. In almost all cases these prophets were concerned with attempts to so adapt the life of their fellow-Indians to the new conditions that they would be better able to cope with the invaders who were sweeping all before them. Whether prophets sprang up only in response to the peculiar conditions resulting from the presence of the whites it is impossible to say, but there seems no reason to believe that such had always been the case. It is quite possible that conditions similar to those developing from the occupancy of America by Europeans had occurred in pre-Columbian times when one tribe was hard pressed by another.

The Winnebago seem to have had their share of prophets, and seem likewise to have been influenced by some of the great prophets of other tribes, like the Shawnee prophet. An interesting account of what he told the Winnebago has been preserved and we will give it at length.

One of the suggestive things about the following account is the way in which the informant, who is evidently a devout Peyote follower, connects the teachings of the Shawnee prophet with the modern Peyote movement, thus evincing a remarkable feeling for historical continuity.

WHAT THE SHAWNEE PROPHET TOLD THE WINNEBAGO

Now this is what the Winnebago heard from the Shawnee prophet; this is what he said, it is said, by those who heard him:

"Let the people give up the customs they are now observing and I will give them new ones." This is what he said.

Some of the Winnebago did this and threw away their war bundles. But he had meant their bad customs. Some also threw away their good medicines. At last they decided to go over to where he was. A man named Smoke-Walker led a number of young men over. "We will walk as the thunderbirds do," said the leader. Then a great and holy man called Dog-Head said that he also was going along. He was then an old man. The leader said, "You had better not come along for we are going to walk as the thunderbirds do, and for that reason I wish only young men." But Dog-Head said, "I am going

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anything. With this I bless you (this herb), and no one else in the world will know it.'" 792 787

This is what Dog-Head told Small-Snake: "As long as your posterity lasts, so long can you use this medicine. If I had given you clothes, when they were worn out, that would be the end of them. Your father spoke to me in your behalf and that is why I am giving you this medicine." Dog-Head told the truth, for even to the present day this medicine is being used. It is a purgative and a valuable medicine. 773

When the Winnebago returned the possessor of the medicine was careless and placed it in a hole in a cliff. When he came back for it it could not be found. He looked all over for it but it was apparently gone. Then they said, "We should not have done this. We should look before acting." Indeed, nowhere did they ever find it afterwards.

Now, it is four generations since the Shawnee prophet prophesied, and from that time there have been many prophets among us, as he is said to have told the people. Many have prophesied, but none have told anything that seemed reasonable. The Shawnee prophet was good, but those who have come after him have prophesied so that people might praise them, or just for the sake of talking. 792 787

It is said that the Shawnee prophet said that there would come a time when a woman would prophesy and that she should be immediately killed. The end of the world would be near then. Then he is said to have said that a little boy would prophesy and that one was to give ear to what he said.

The Peyote people claim that their ceremony is the fulfillment of this prophesy and that it is true. The Shawnee prophet had said that there would be springs of water in front of the people's lodges and it is so at the present time, for the water is at our very doors. His prophesy was correct and he told the truth. Then he said that trees would travel and this is happening to-day, for trees are loaded into trains and are carried all around the country. He told the truth and he knew what was going to happen. He said that one day we would be able to write our own language and we are doing that to-day, for we have a Bible in Winnebago and we are able to write to one another in our own language. All these things he was able to foretell four generations ago. [794]

A Winnebago by the name of Noise-Thunder had also prophesied that we would be able to write our own language. One thing that he said, however, was not correct. He said that the bad thing that has come upon us will make us forget our own ways. He meant that we should not take up with the white man's ways. "Don't do [772]

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Nicollet's time, some even within the recollection of Winnebago still living. All were unquestionably erected by the Winnebago, and since there is no reason for believing that this tribe entered Wisconsin many centuries before the first appearance of Europeans in America, it is quite erroneous to state, as Mr. Stout does, that the evidence at hand justifies us in dividing the occupancy of Wisconsin into two principal periods, the effigy mound-building era and the time that has elapsed since that period.

The use of copper by the Winnebago prior to their contact with Europeans is another of the rather baffling questions connected with Winnebago archeology. There are references to its use in the myth of the Twins, but the sections of the myth where it is mentioned show marked evidences of European influence and can hardly be accepted as reflecting the original mode of life of the Winnebago. Copper is found in a number of mounds, but we have no way of determining whether these mounds are pre-Columbian or not.

In all likelihood, almost all the copper found in Wisconsin comes from the original copper workings at Isle Royale, Keweenaw, Ontonagon, and elsewhere, in the Lake Superior district. "A provisional description of the territory in which the greatest number of such artifacts have been recovered up to the present time may be given as extending from about the middle of Milwaukee County, northward along the west shore of Lake Michigan to Door County, thence westward to the Wisconsin River or slightly beyond, thence southward along this stream to Dane County and eastward to Milwaukee County, the starting point. Embraced within this territory are the extensive lake shore village sites, from which thousands of articles have already been recovered, and certain well-known sites in Green Lake and adjoining counties, the Rush Lake and similarly productive regions."[1]

The region thus described embraces the Winnebago territory and that subsequently occupied by the Central Algonquian tribes. It does not follow the line of Winnebago migrations farther than the Wisconsin River to the west or farther than the southern boundary of Dane County to the south or southwest. As far as the writer knows no one has ever been able to obtain any information from the Winnebago that would in any manner connect them with the authorship of the copper implements found associated with their old village sites. All Indians questioned denied that their ancestors had ever used copper before the arrival of the early French traders. For the Winnebago, it seems to the writer, the problem connected with the occurrence of copper implements is not whether the Winnebago made them, but how they came to obtain them. The solution of this problem would be immensely facilitated if we had accurate knowledge

[1] Brown, in The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 2, no. 3, p. 88.

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tory before them; or—but this is extremely unlikely—that they were all of Algonquian origin. 172

Implements of Stone and Other Materials

As pointed out before, we ought not to expect to find much strictly archeological data relating to the Winnebago in their Wisconsin habitat. As, however, they probably reached this habitat before the discovery of America, some of the archeological finds may easily go back that far. Unfortunately we have no way of determining, even approximately, the age of the artifacts.

We will now confine ourselves to a description of the more important types of artifacts and remains found on old Winnebago sites without going into the question of their respective age.

Implements and utensils were made of stone, clay, shell, bone, wood, antlers, and turtle claws (pl. 10). According to information obtained from the present Winnebago, which is supported by the testimony of the myths and tales, but few objects were made of stone. [411 324] The most important of these was the stone hatchet. It may even be questioned whether the Winnebago originally made these, for they are given a supernatural origin by those few Winnebago who mentioned their existence, and it has been the author's experience that objects to which a supernatural origin is ascribed are generally either of recent origin or have been borrowed. None of the myths or tales even mention their existence. Nevertheless a large number of stone implements, most of them presumably stone hatchets, has been found at Doty Island, near Menasha, Wis. (pl. 11), which had at one time been one of their principal village sites. It is quite probable that the Winnebago obtained most of these from the neighboring Algonquian [439] tribes who were well known for their skill in working stone.

Copper Implements

The Winnebago are known to have used copper implements in fairly great abundance, the only question being whether they were the original makers of these objects. We do not think they were, and base our opinion on the answers given by present-day Indians and the total absence of their mention in the myths. Both iron and presumably copper are mentioned in certain myths, but these passages are clearly of European origin. [177]

Practically all of our knowledge of the nature and distribution of copper objects in Wisconsin has been conveniently summarized in Mr. C. E. Brown's paper entitled "The native copper implements of Wisconsin,"[a] and all that we mention here is taken from this little monograph. 172 325

[a] The Wisconsin Archeologist, vol. 3, no. 2.

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CHAPTER III

MATERIAL CULTURE

Habitations

34 In former times the Winnebago seem to have had eight types of lodges: The round lodge (*tci p'ârap'â'rate*), the long lodge (*tci se'rête*), the tipi, the grass lodge, the gable lodge (*na"haitci p'â'rap'arate*), the platform lodge, the ceremonial lodge, and the sweat lodge. Of the round lodge and the long lodge there are three varieties—one made entirely of bark (pl. 18, *c*); another made entirely of reed mattings (pl. 18, *a*); and still another of bark with a roof covering of reed matting (pl. 18, *b*). The round and long lodges of all [343] three types are occasionally seen even now, rarely as habitations, however, but as storehouses (pl. 19). Gable lodges are no longer found among the Winnebago, but the writer has been informed that a few still exist among the Sauk and Fox living near Tama, Iowa.

343 The round and the long bark lodges are constructed in a very simple manner. These are built of poles of ironwood (*teutcô'na*) driven into the ground, bent over and lashed to other poles which meet them from the opposite direction. The poles are tied together with basswood bark (*hi"cke'xunte*). The same material is used in attaching to these poles the cedar bark that forms the walls of the lodge. The walls are supported on the inside by a varying number of poles (*teicu' cuxutra"p*) attached to the corresponding poles of the other side. In many cases a series of transverse poles (*teicu' na"jiyk'ere*) are inserted beneath the exterior vertical poles. These can be seen in plate 18, *a*, *b*, *c*. The bark roofs are incased in frames made of irregularly distributed vertical poles with generally one transverse pole (pl. 18, *a*, *b*, *c*). If the roofs are of reed matting two or three of the external poles have poles attached to them which are arched across the matting (pl. 18 *a*, *b*, *c*). The reed matting lodges, as a rule, have no external vertical poles and only two transverse poles each, one on the outside and one on the inside (pl. 19, *c*).

● [177] Although considered of Winnebago origin by many Indians, these bark and reed matting lodges are in all probability of Central Algonquian origin. They are easily constructed and for that reason were 000 generally used for temporary purposes in the olden times. Accord-

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According to the oldest informants, the earliest type of lodge used by the Winnebago was the ten-fire gable lodge, of which there were two types, rectangular in form, one built on a platform and the other on the ground. Poles of cedar, forked at the top, formed the sides. Through the forks transverse poles were laid to which the gable roof was attached. Three poles (*na°ji'k'erē*) were arranged in the center of the lodge for the better support of the roof. Beds were placed along both of the long sides on a platform raised 2 feet (*haxa'k'*). Frequently a platform 4 to 5 feet high was erected in the rear of the lodge and partitioned off. Here the favorite child of the family lived when he was fasting. In front of the lodge a spot was always kept carefully cleared (*sowaxi'nera*). There were two doorways to the lodge. Often the entrances were shaded with boughs. According to some informants, this was only done for the chief's lodge. According to another description of the gable lodge, there were only two central poles, one at each entrance; these were always painted blue to symbolize the day (fig. 22, *b*).

FIG. 22.—a, CROSS-SECTION OF ROUND LODGE; b, CROSS-SECTION OF GABLE LODGE.

As far as can be learned at the present time, the platform lodges were merely gable lodges on platforms. What purpose the platform served is now difficult to determine, but most Winnebago questioned said that it was provided as a protection against the dampness of the ground and insects.

The ceremonial lodge was merely a large, long bark lodge. The grass lodge seems to have been a roughly constructed round lodge with a covering of grass instead of bark. The sweat lodge was a round bark lodge having a framework of four poles. The tipi was of a simple type provided with a three-pole framework.

All the evidence obtained points to the fact that lodges of these types were used synchronously. According to the myths and the oldest informants, in ancient times a village occupied for a considerable period consisted entirely of gable lodges, but these seem to have given way to the round and long type, probably borrowed from the Central Algonquian. The gable type seems to have held its own, however, among the more western villages of the Winnebago. The round bark lodges were used in winter and the reed matting lodges in

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Method of wearing the hair.—In former times the men wore their hair in two long braids, although some seem to have affected the Sauk and Fox roach. The scalp along the parting of the hair was always painted, the color varying with individuals. There is no indication of any distinctions in the method of wearing the hair among the various clans as found among the Osage. 302 [177]

A variety of coiffures exist among the Winnebago women at the present day and the assumption that these are all recent is unwarranted. It seems probable that in the old days the hair was usually worn in one braid, which on festive occasions was inclosed in a case. This consisted of two parts—a rectangular piece of broadcloth beaded, and long strips of beaded work (pl. 28).

Earrings and bracelets. At the present time earrings are fashioned either of 10-cent pieces strung together or of various ornaments of German silver. Strings of beads also are worn occasionally. Bracelets now are made generally of German silver, while in former times beaded or quillwork buckskin was used. 301 [178]

Arm bands and necklaces.—Arm bands are made either of German silver or beaded work. The necklaces consist of long strings of various articles, as modern wampum, seeds, and elk teeth.

Belts, as well as cross belts, are now either beaded or woven, but formerly they were always woven from buffalo hair. Shell gorgets are generally of the type shown in plates 22, 24, 26, b. Tight collars are now made of beaded work. Bandoliers consist of long sashes with bags attached; both sash and bag are always gorgeously beaded. The bandoliers are worn in three ways, with the bag hanging on the right side, on the left side, or in front. Often the same individual wears two or three bandoliers. Garters are now made of beaded work; formerly these were generally made of the skins of various animals, preferably the polecat (pls. 27, 28, 29, 30, b). 293

Headdress and taildress.—The Winnebago headdress has been well described by Skinner (op. cit., p. 203), as follows: 301 237

> The typical headdress is a roach or comb-like ornament woven from deer's hair and generally dyed red. A carved bone, somewhat like an elongate isosceles triangle in shape, spread out this roach and was attached near the front to another tubular bone in which an eagle feather was inserted. Often the latter was ornamented with dyed horse hair and rattlesnake rattles. . . . The whole was fastened on the crown of the head slightly back of the forehead. It was usually pinned to the hair, the scalplock serving to hold it on.

A taildress, consisting of the tail of some animal, was worn only at certain dances, particularly the Herucka.

HUNTING

In their original habitat hunting was the most important means of subsistence of the Winnebago. Practically all game available was 224

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241 [778] In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

[442 177] The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

241 527 782 If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

249 In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

222 *Berry picking.*—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

222 787 *Customs when berries are ripening.*—If a man has a son whom he loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

222 *Rice gathering.*—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river.
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

252 262 *Preparation of foods.*—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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and the breast of most animals were considered good portions, but the head of the deer was included. Other portions were eaten, however. For infants the deer's tail was considered a delicacy. Now, when they eat meat provided by the white man, rib roast of beef is the favorite meat of the Winnebago.

The Winnebago were very fond of soups of all descriptions. Most of these were meat soups with the addition of vegetables or berries.

Most time was, however, spent in the preparation of vegetable foods, especially in the preparation of wild rice and corn. For the preparation of rice I will again quote Professor Jenks's article:

> At this stage of the harvest when the Winnebago gather the wild rice, the kernel is very like a long oat and has a tenacious hull, which must be removed before the grain can be eaten. The necessity of removing this hull and the unripe condition of the grain make it necessary to dry it artificially. This is usually done by spreading the kernels yet inclosed in the hull upon a rack of lattice work, under which a slow fire is kept burning. The grain is cured and the hull made brittle by the heat and smoke. The next process is the threshing. The Winnebago thrashes the grain by the use of a most primitive flail. He spreads a blanket, rush mat, or deerskin on the ground, upon which he puts the now cured grain. Along three sides of the blanket he erects a screen of similar material. At the open side of this screen the man squats on his knees, and beats the grain with a straight stick in each hand, thus releasing it from the hull. When it has been threshed the woman gathers up the contents of the blanket and winnows the mass by letting it fall from a vessel held high in the air upon a blanket or mat laid on the earth, the wind blows away the chaff from the falling grain and leaves the clean kernels.

The Winnebago distinguished a number of different kinds of corn, the principal ones being *wahi'xeretc*, yellow-stalked; *hiwaxiona*, sweet corn; and *waxuc'teke*, red-colored corn. The cornstalk was called *wahu'*, the corn proper, *wiica'xwa'xs*, and the cob, *woxa'k'*. The corn is pounded on a rack (*wwicd'*) and then shelled, the grain falling through the rack and the cobs remaining on top. After being shelled the corn is steamed. Then the stones necessary for cooking it are gathered and the corn is picked. When this is finished, a hole is dug in the ground and red-hot stones are put in. Over this the husks are put and upon these the corn; then another layer of husks, etc. The top always is covered with husks. Four holes are made through the husks, into which four pails of water are poured and the whole is covered with a thick layer of earth and the corn left there overnight. The next morning it will be entirely cooked.

In shelling, the outer part of an oyster shell is used. When the shelling is over the corn is spread out and dried.

Squash is prepared as follows: After the skin has been removed the squash is cut into slices and the seeds taken out; the slices of squash are then put on poles to dry. The dried squash is called *hotca'xwa'daxus*. There are two varieties of this vegetable—*wiica'xwa'*, Hubbard squash, and *wiica'xwanxik*, small-kernel squash.

Fruit was dried, but by what process the author has not learned.

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252 262 In addition to the vegetable foods above referred to, the following may be mentioned: *Terra'para*, a plant growing in the water, the root of which was eaten boiled with meat; *woknipkera* and *hᵘ'ipk hoi'dja*, awl plant and peavine, respectively, of which only the roots were eaten; and finally the *dora*, wild potato, a favorite dish. The skin was peeled off; then the potato was dried in the sun and afterwards boiled. *Naᵘpa'hᵘ*, chokecherries, were eaten raw. *Pᵘapkxi'* and *maᵘhi'nte*, a lowland weed, and the milkweed, respectively, were also utilized. Of the former, the boiled root was eaten; of the latter, the boiled head. Small quantities of food which required grinding were put into a squirrel hide from which the hairs had been removed, and were pounded with a stone. A mill consisting of a dug-out trunk with handles attached was also used.

251 415 *Preservation of food.*—In former times meat was hung on long racks for preservation. Corn was cached (*woze'*). Dried berries were kept in bags woven from vegetable fibers. These bags were always covered with designs, mostly of geometric patterns, although realistic designs, as elk, deer, thunderbirds, and water spirits, all [531 422] unquestionably property marks, were frequently used. There were two types of bags, that closely woven (*p'aᵘ*) (pls. 32–36), just mentioned, and matting bags with fairly large openings in the meshwork (pl. 37). Food stored away at home was generally placed in a part of the lodge reserved for the purpose.

262 *A Winnebago menu.*—To give an idea of the favorite dishes of the Winnebago, the names of several mentioned in one of the myths are here appended: Small dried corn boiled with bear's ribs; jerked meat with bear's fat; deer's fat; deer's grease frozen in a hole in the ground; dried corn boiled with fruit; deer-loin soup.

412 415 *Cooking and eating utensils* (pl. 38).—With regard to the kind of cooking and eating utensils used in the old days there exists even among the Indians themselves considerable difference of opinion. According to some, their ancestors never used wooden utensils, mills, spoons, and plates, but utilized shells of various kinds or other natural objects suitable to their needs. Others state, on the contrary, that, in early times, in addition to such natural objects, wooden vessels of many kinds were fashioned from maple knots. These are said to have been burned out, a very tedious process, or even to have been cut out with adzes. It is quite impossible to decide this question now. Wooden implements and utensils in great variety are, of course, found among the Winnebago at the present time, but these are supposed by many to have been introduced by the neighboring Algonquian tribes and by early French traders. The main contention of the present-day [177] Winnebago is, however, that their ancestors could never have made this woodenware without the aid of European implements, burning out being a tedious and unsatisfactory method.

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It might be said that all recollection of the making of wooden vessels could easily have been lost in the last century or two and that therefore too much weight should not be given to present ignorance of the subject. There are a number of reasons, however, why ignorance in this particular case might be significant. First, many indications point to workmanship of a low order among the Winnebago in the manufacture of artifacts; second, there are many suggestions of two cultural strata in this tribe; third, while the Winnebago in Wisconsin still use wooden vessels, many of them claim that these were introduced; and fourth, all the informants who gave this information were old people. If the author were to hazard an hypothesis, it would be the following: In very early times few objects were fashioned out of wood, but gradually contact with the Menominee led to the introduction of many wooden vessels, and finally the acquisition of European axes, knives, and other implements made it possible to manufacture such vessels in large numbers. A similar explanation was offered by an Indian with regard to the use of dugouts.

Besides wood as a material for dishes and spoons of various kinds and sizes, shells were utilized, while sticks served as knives.

All informants agree that neither bone nor stone were used in the manufacture of utensils.

For cooking, clay pots were used. These vessels, most of which were very large, with round bottoms, always hung over the fire. The material used in their manufacture was blue clay found at Green Bay, on or near the site of St. Paul, Minn., mixed with shell shards, glue from sturgeon vetrebræ, and the gelatinous substance in the horns of the deer.[1] The addition of these ingredients greatly increased the cohesiveness of the clay. The material was either molded with the hands or in holes of the desired shape dug in the ground and lined with leaves. Finally, the vessels were dried over a slow fire in small kilns constructed for the purpose. None of the clay vessels were provided with handles. Some were ornamented with geometric patterns. The irregular incised designs on some Winnebago vessels are the impressions of grass blades with which the mold was lined.[2]

Fire making.—In former times fire was always made by means of a simple fire drill. This method is still used for ceremonial occasions.

Tanning.—The author never witnessed the process of tanning. The description obtained agrees exactly with that of Mr. A. Skinner here quoted:[3]

> After the skin has been removed, the hair is scraped from it. During this process the skin is hung over an obliquely inclined log, one end of which has been smoothed

[1] One informant gave a description of pottery making in which a wheel was used, but as no other Winnebago corroborated this statement the author is convinced that it is inaccurate.

[2] Author. Papers Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist. pt. IV, pt. II, pp. 289-290.

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Tree game.—Two trees are selected about 20 feet apart, one having a branch about 15 feet from the ground. A number of people stand ready at the side of this tree and the one whose turn it is to play tries to hit the branch. When he succeeds in doing so all run toward the other tree. As soon as the player gets the ball he tries to hit the runners. If successful in this before the others have reached the tree he wins; otherwise they are "safe" and he must try again. The Winnebago called this game *hahi'bidjike'u*. 526

Travel and Transportation

Canoes and dugouts.—All the boats found in the early days in the territory originally inhabited by the Winnebago were dugouts, yet a number of the tribe questioned denied positively that boats of this kind were in common use before the coming of the whites. According to these informants, in former times the Winnebago always had their home in a birch country, and had at hand, therefore, the requisite material for making canoes; moreover, birch-bark canoes were much easier to construct than dugouts, for which logs had to be hollowed by burning—a process that might consume weeks. Only when the whites introduced the ax and the knife did it become practicable to make dugouts. These implements became available at the time of the southern migration of the tribe into a region where birch bark was scarce, and one result of the change was the substitution of the dugout for the canoe. The validity of this explanation is supported by the same line of argument as in the case of the wooden vessels. 501 [412 177 167]

Snowshoes. The snowshoes of the Winnebago were similar to those used by the Menominee, with this difference, that the two pieces of wood forming the "handle," instead of being tied together for their whole length, as among the latter, were left unfastened for about 5 inches at the end. This difference is immediately detected (pl. 40) by the present-day Winnebago, who can easily identify, by the feature mentioned, snowshoes belonging to the tribe. 481 [171]

Musical Instruments

The musical instruments of the Winnebago seem to have been restricted to the flute, drum, and gourd. The flute was made of red cedar and usually had a range of five or six notes; it was used at many ceremonies, and especially by young men when courting. The drum consisted of a framework (in later days a wooden pail or a barrel served the purpose), over which a skin was drawn very tight. A small quantity of water was always kept in the drum so that the skin could be wet as often as necessary. Rattles consisted of dried gourds filled, in olden times, with seeds, in more modern times with buckshot (pl. 30, *d*, *f*). 534

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CHAPTER V

BURIAL AND FUNERAL CUSTOMS

764 There appear to have been two distinct methods of burial among the Winnebago—simple inhumation and platform burial. Within recent times, owing to the influence of their Algonquian neighbors, [177] platform burial has entirely disappeared and inhumation alone is practiced. It has even become customary to erect a typical Algonquian burial-hut over the grave (see pl. 54, *b*).

[615] When the old culture was still intact inhumation was definitely associated with the lower phratry and platform burial with the upper phratry. Whether this marked difference in burial customs was merely another example of that specialization in function so characteristic of these two divisions of the tribe, or whether it was due to distinct historical origins, it is difficult to determine. I am, however, inclined to regard the latter interpretation as by far the most probable.

[614 184] All the customs are described in full detail in the various accounts that follow and in Chapters VII and VIII. Each clan seems to have had a few details peculiar to itself, but, in the main, the rights were identical. They may briefly be divided into the following sections:

1. Preparation of the body for burial. 2. Rites in the house of the deceased, consisting mainly of speeches of consolation to the bereaved. 3. Speeches addressed to the deceased and the narration of the myth of the journey to spirit land. 4. Rites at the grave. 5. The recounting of war exploits by specially invited warriors, at the grave. 6. The elaborate four nights wake at the home of the deceased.

Description of Funeral Customs and Wake

[115 244] Informant, member of the Thunderbird clan:[1] When an individual dies his relatives get some one to bury him and the chief mourner will also invite some person to talk to the corpse before it is buried. The person addressing the dead man or woman tells the deceased how he is to go (to spirit land) and what he is to do on the way there. The body is then dressed by the person who is going to bury it. All the relatives come to the lodge and the deceased is dressed in his best clothes; beads are put around his neck, bracelets on his wrist, rings

[1] This description is a generalized one.

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10. ᵭe, buffalo.
11. ᵭe, fish.
12. wuᵭ'eᵉ, snake.

Another list was obtained in which only 10 clans were mentioned, the Fish and the Snake being omitted. The clans omitted are, however, regarded by all as of recent origin.

There are two older lists of Winnebago clans obtained by Morgan[1] 614 and Dorsey.[2] Morgan gives the following clans: 114

Wolf.	Eagle.	Snake.
Bear.	Elk.	Thunder.
Buffalo.	Deer.	

Dorsey's list is more complete, although owing to the fact that he did not know of the existence of the twofold division, he classes the four Bird clans as subclans of one larger Bird clan. His list differs from the author's only in the absence of the Fish clan and in the fact that he was still able to obtain two archaic names for the Wolf and Bear clans. Dorsey's list follows:

Wolf.	Bird.	Buffalo.
Bear.	*a*. Eagle.	Deer.
Elk.	*b*. Pigeon.	Water-monster.
Snake.	*c*. Hawk.	
	d. Thunderbird.	

Foster gives a grouping of the clans according to the fauna.[3] His list hardly was intended as an enumeration of the clans. According to Foster, we have the following grouping:

I. Thunderbird family or invisible Thunderbird people.
II. The air family, the visible Thunderbird people.
III. The land or quadruped family.
IV. The water family.

An interesting variant of the names of the Thunderbird and Warrior 614 clans was given by one informant. He called the Thunderbird the [115 good thunders, and the Warrior the bad thunders. This is strikingly 177] reminiscent of the Menominee and was perhaps borrowed from them.

The main differences in the above lists are the order of the clans, the position of the Wolf clan, the presence of a general Bird clan called *wᵭᵭk* by Dorsey, the double names for the Wolf and Bear clans, and the absence of a Fish and Warrior clan in Dorsey's and of a Hawk clan in the list obtained by the author.

The position of the Wolf clan, in spite of Morgan's and Dorsey's agreement, does not belong in the place assigned to it by them. In all probability their main informant was a member of this clan who wished to give his clan a greater importance than properly belonged

[1] Ancient Society, p. 167.
[2] Siouan Sociology. Fifteenth Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., pp. 249-251.
[3] Quoted in J. O. Dorsey's MSS. of Winnebago clan names (B. A. E.).

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Facial paintings of these two clans, it is claimed, were the same as those for the Thunderbird clan (pl. 46). This was denied by others. 302 614

According to one informant the Pigeon clan was borrowed from another tribe. [177]

CLAN NAMES

WANINK' HIK'IE'A'RAIJOKRA (THE BIRD CLAN)[a]

Ahugidjinewinga.....Young bird that sheds its first feathers as it flaps its wings.
Ahuxip'erawinga.....Spreads her wings (said of a young bird just learning to fly).
Ahumanip'aga.....He who hits the ground with his wings (refers to a cloud).
Ahup'ahiga.....Sharp wing (said of a thunderbird).
Ahuperewinga.....Transparently clear wings.[b]
Ahuru-aga.....He who raises his wings (i. e., the wings of a cloud).
Ahuwk'a.....Strikes his wings.[c]
Ahuwetega.....Long wings (as a far-extended cloud, clouds being the plumage of the thunderbirds).
Ahuxgawinga.....White wing.
Ahutcewinga.....Green wing.
Ahuxururiwinga.....Slow wing.
Adadjirohiga.....He who sets the prairie grass on fire suddenly (i. e., the lightning).
C'odjega.....He who kindles the (fire?).[d]
Hadjara.....She who has been seen.
Hadjatcexiwinga.....Difficult to be seen.
Ha'p' hik'inohiga.....He who raises the day.
Ha'p'ok' guwinga.....Owl returning hither.
Ha'ptcek'a.....New day.
Hirdja Kcexadjega.....Hawk-face.
Hitcaxcepcwinga.....Eagle woman.
Hitcaxcepcega.....Black eagle.
Hitcaxceptcega.....Green hawk.
Hiwetega.....Green tail.
Hiwitcajakega.....Forked-tailed hawk.
Hoha'p'ega.....Returning light.
Hoha'hanaxiwinga.....Walks in the light.
Hoha'pdjik'ega.....Light that comes hither regularly.
Hoha'pdjikcega.....Light flashes suddenly.

[144]

[a] The following list of names is based partly upon the manuscripts of Winnebago personal names prepared by the late Mr. J. O. Dorsey, and now in the possession of the Bureau of American Ethnology. This list has been revised and the phonetics of the Winnebago names corrected and transcribed by the author, but the Knight & renderings of the names have been left as Mr. Dorsey obtained them, as the author obtained practically the same translations. Many of the names were obtained independently by the author. Dorsey's list is his[?] the amalgamation of two lists, that obtained by Dr. Foster and his own. He subsequently revised Foster's list, but to those names of the latter's list for which he could not obtain any translation he appended Foster's initials.

[b] Dorsey has "thin" wings, adding "as is a transparent fleecy cloud." However, the word *pere*, which is the full form for *pe*, means "clear," and is generally used in describing water in a brook. The interpretation of this and many other names as referring to clouds necessarily and not to the simple characteristics of the wings of the thunderbirds, is not obtained frequently to-day, but there seems to be no reason for believing that it was not customary a generation or two ago. For a discussion of the meaning of the names in general see the introduction to the section on social organization.

[c] Dorsey's rendering "stiff wings" is most certainly incorrect.

[d] Foster translates "misty" and Dorsey "smoke," but one means to kindle a fire, literally to cause the blue flame that appears just as the flame start up.

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776 is but a faint survival of former times. The older myths are full of
references to the evil spirits, and the cosmological myths represent
[773] the world as infested with evil spirits who are on the point of exterminating the human race until the culture heroes come to the rescue. It would almost seem as if, from a purely matter-of-fact point of view, these early culture heroes had destroyed all the evil spirits. Certainly they are not regarded as of great consequence, for if they were we ought to find a certain number of prayers addressed to them asking them not to harm anyone. They seem to be mere bogies, personifications of fear, and that is perhaps why they are so intimately connected with darkness.

812 At the present time the vast majority of Winnebago ascribe evil,
in so far as they explain it at all, to three causes—either to some
[685 failure on their part to perform a rite in the prescribed way, to
782] the fact that they have not invoked the spirits for protection (i. e., attempted to pass through life without the aid of the spirits), or to the evil machinations of other men. Often one derives the impression that they accept evil and do not try to explain it. It seems to be a trait characteristic of the Winnebago, and perhaps characteristic of other North American tribes, that explanations are developed for the positive aspects of things. Certainly it would require some thought on the part of a Winnebago to explain why a war party that had, in the opinion of the chief, all the necessary requirements for victory, should nevertheless be defeated. He would doubtless find some reason, after a while, but it would be an afterthought and would probably vary from individual to individual. In some cases lack of success would be ascribed to the fact that an individual had been misled by an evil spirit, but this is clearly a secondary explanation because the individual, when questioned, would admit that he had no way of telling whether this was so until he had failed in something. We base this statement on an actual instance.

776 There is some evidence to show that there may have originally
existed among the Winnebago a belief that the spirits were neither good nor bad; that they could be either at different times. In two notable instances, that of Disease-giver and Water-spirit, this is true at the present time. The former deity is the only one to whom prayers are addressed beseeching him not to present to man his death-dealing side.

In the myths we find a definite incarnation of evil in the case of
[192] a spirit called *Hereegu'nina*. The meaning of this word as given by a Winnebago, and which seems to be justified, is "he whose existence is doubtful." If this is an old Winnebago word it would confirm the view advanced above, that the Winnebago were not very much concerned about the evil spirits. There is, however, a possibility
[77] that *Hereegu'nina* is, in part, a post-Columbian development due

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to Christian influence. The one place where he plays an important rôle, the myth of the twins, shows definite indications of European influence. The only thing that militates against such an assumption is the fact that there does not seem to be any particular reason why the existence of a chief evil spirit should have been doubted, even if we were to grant that Christian influence extended the belief. The French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had a very definite idea of the devil and made it a point to tell the Indians that all their former habits were due to deceptions the devil had practiced upon them. To-day such an answer is the first that a Christianized Winnebago or a member of the new Peyote cult will give an ethnologist. Perhaps, after all, it is a very old Winnebago conception, a confirmation of the view promulgated before, that in former times the Winnebago had a very definite conception of evil spirits taking an active part in the affairs of man to his detriment. The figure of *Hereqq'ninc* is well defined and it would be ridiculous, in our opinion, to believe that the shamans would have done anything to develop it. We have clear indications of what the shamans were trying to do with this conception. They were attempting to bring it into some relation with the concept of Earthmaker, a beneficent All-Father, and to do so they were even willing to claim that *Hereqq'ninc* was the first attempt of Earthmaker to create a spirit; that Earthmaker was dissatisfied with his work and threw it away; that then *Hereqq'ninc* watched Earthmaker create spirits and imitated him, the evil spirits representing these imitations. The shamans, we should expect, would have done all in their power to lessen the importance of *Hereqq'ninc*, even to deny his existence, and, in this connection, it may be of significance that one Winnebago interpreted his name to mean, "He-who-seems-to-exist-but-who-does-not."

Whatever the case may be, this much is clear, that in the twin myth he is represented as a deity as powerful as Earthmaker, whom Earthmaker can not destroy; upon whom the twins play jokes but whom they cannot really harm.

The concept of disease.—Disease is rarely ascribed to the spirits. Like lack of success, it is regarded as a fact of existence, and when it is explained it is believed to be due either to the carelessness of man in trying to pass through life without the aid of the spirits or to the evil machinations of other men.

The deity known as Disease-giver is the one exception to the rule that the Winnebago spirits do not directly cause disease, for he is sometimes described as scattering death broadcast over the earth.

The concepts of death, after-life, and reincarnation.—Death is rarely, if ever, ascribed to the spirits. It likewise is a fact of existence and,

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air.

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaap'ᵓᵓra na"jiᵓwinᵓ.
Soldiers get up.

II

Waja"ᵓija" teraᵓgi"ji na"jiᵓᵓᵓᵓjᵓ.
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaap'ᵓᵓra nowine'aᵓ hu'nagiᵓdra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaap'ᵓᵓra hi'ja" wine'aᵓ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

Ceremony of Uangeru

(BURNING CEREMONY)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Necoda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast.

Kikre Waci and Tcebobona"k Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called *tcebobona"k* (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin.

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In 1910 the cult already had a rather definite organization. There was, at every performance, one leader (pl. 54, *a*) and four principal participants. John Rave (pls. 5, *b*; 55, *b*), the Winnebago who introduced the peyote, was always the leader whenever he was present. On other occasions leadership devolved upon some older member. The four other principal participants changed from meeting to meeting, although there was a tendency to ask certain individuals whenever it was possible. The ritualistic unit, in short, is a very definite one, consisting of a number of speeches and songs and in the passing of the regalia from one to the other of the four participants.

During the early hours of the evening, before the peyote has begun to have any appreciable effect, a number of apparently intrusive features are found. These, for the most part, consist of speeches by people in the audience and the reading and explanation of parts of the Bible. After the peyote has begun to have an appreciable effect, however, the ceremony consists exclusively of a repetition of the ritualistic unit and confessions.

There is an initiation consisting of a baptism, always performed by John Rave. It is of a very simple nature. Rave dips his fingers in a peyote infusion and then passes them over the forehead of the new member, muttering at the same time the following prayer:

"God, his holiness."

This is what the Winnebago words mean, although some of the younger members who have been strongly permeated with Christian teachings translate the prayer into, "God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

Whenever the ceremony is performed in the open a fireplace in the shape of a horseshoe is made. At one end of this fireplace is placed a very small mound of earth, called by Rave "Mount Sinai," and in front of this a cross is traced in the earth. Upon the small earth mound are placed the two "chief" peyote, the Bible and the staff. The latter, called by Rave the shepherd's crook, is always covered with beadwork, and generally has a number of evenly cut tufts of deer hair on the end and at intervals along its length. The sacred peyote, known as *hunka* (i. e., "chief") are exceptionally large and beautiful specimens. They are regarded by a number of people, certainly by Rave, with undisguised veneration.

In addition to the above, there is found a large eagle feather fan, a small drum, and a peculiar small type of rattle. To my knowledge, this type was unknown among the Winnebago before its introduction by the peyote eaters.

John Rave's Account of the Peyote Cult and of His Conversion

During 1893–94 I was in Oklahoma with peyote eaters.

In the middle of the night we were to eat peyote. We ate it and I also did. It was the middle of the night when I got frightened, for

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159 I know that it was because the evil spirit possessed me that I felt that
755 way. I was suffering from a disease. I even desired to kill myself:
794 I did not care to live. That feeling, too, was caused by this evil
276 spirit living within me. Then I ate this medicine and everything
[753] changed. The brother and sister I wanted to kill before I became attached to and I wanted them to live. The medicine had accomplished this.

O. L.'s Description of the Peyote Cult

(Pl. 45, c)

159 John Rave belongs to the Bear clan, the members of which had
614 the functions of what might be called sergeants-at-arms. He and
[692 his ancestors used to be in charge of the *manupeti* (i. e., the ser-
681] geants-at-arms lodge), to which all malefactors would be brought for punishment.

159 Rave, although he belonged to this highly respected class of people,
794 was a bad man. He roamed from place to place. He has participated in all the ceremonies of the Winnebago, the medicine dance alone excepted. He had been married many times. Up to 1901 he was a heavy drinker. In that year he went to Oklahoma and while there ate the peyote. He then returned to the Winnebago and tried to introduce it among them, but none with the exception of a few
[77] relatives would have anything to do with it. This did not in any way discourage him, however, and he continued using the peyote, now and then getting a few converts.

159 There was not very much religion connected with it in the beginning
794 and the reason people drank it was on account of the peculiar effects
177 it had upon them. Nevertheless these Peyote people preached good things and gradually lost all desire for intoxicating drinks or for participating in the old Winnebago ceremonies. Then Rave began to do away with the old Indian customs. About four or five years ago the membership in the Peyote religion began to increase, for many people now noticed that those connected with the Peyote cult were the only people in the tribe leading a Christian life.

At this time the Bible was introduced by a young man named Albert Hensley (pls. 8, *d*; 9, *d*). He, too, had been a bad person, although he had been educated at Carlisle. Like Rave, he was a heavy drinker and fond of wandering.

During the last few years our members have increased so fast that now almost half the tribe belong to our religion. We all make efforts to lead a Christian life and we are succeeding very well.

794 We use the New Testament, especially the Revelations.

796 Our meetings take place at any time. We gather together in the
159 evening, and as soon as everything is in readiness the leader arises
[782] and offers a prayer called, "Turning themselves over to the care of the Trinity."

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the Trinity." Then all sit down and the leader makes the regular announcements. The peyote is then passed around, either in the dry condition or steeped. The leader thereupon starts the singing. These are some of the songs:

1. Ask God for life and he will give it to us.
2. God created us so pray to him.
3. To the home of Jesus we are going, so pray to him.
4. Come ye to the road of the Son of God; come ye to the road.

Then Albert Hensley calls upon 12 educated members to translate and interpret certain portions of the Bible for the nonreading members. He arranges with the leader to have the singing stop at certain places so that some of these young men can speak. When these are finished, other individuals are called upon to give testimony. Hensley always talks and so does Rave.

John Rave baptizes by dipping his hand in a diluted infusion of peyote and rubbing it across the forehead of a new member, saying, "I baptize thee in the name of God, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which is called God's Holiness."

The peyote eaters wanted to get baptized and unite with the church in Winnebago, but the clergyman in charge would not permit them, so they went and did their own baptizing through their leader, John Rave, who, though he is not educated, is full of real intelligence and religion.

If a person who is truly repentant eats peyote for the first time, he does not suffer at all from its effects. But if an individual is bullheaded, does not believe in its virtue, he is likely to suffer a good deal. This I know from my own experience. After eating peyote I grasped the meaning of the Bible, which before had been meaningless to me.

If a person eats peyote and does not repent openly, he has a guilty conscience, which leaves him as soon as the public repentance has been made.

Old men and women who had been brought up to worship animals and all kinds of spirits have cast them all away and in many instances burned their idols, not because they were told to do so but because they felt that way.

Whenever at our meetings a person wishes to pray, he does so; when he wishes to cry, he does so. Indeed, we show no timidity about worshiping God in the right way. In the Bible one often reads of Christ casting out the devils and of the people shouting, etc. So does the peyote act on us in the beginning, although afterwards its effects abate.

If a peyote eater relapses into his old way of living, then the peyote causes him great suffering.

At first our meetings were started without any rule laid down by the Bible, but afterwards we found a very good reason for holding

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our meetings at night. We searched the Bible and asked many ministers for any evidence for Christ's ever having held any meetings in the daytime, but we could find nothing to that effect. We did, however, find evidence that he had been out all night in prayer. As it is our desire to follow as closely as we can in the footsteps of Christ, we hold our meetings at night. Then, too, when we pray we wish to get as far away as possible from earthly things, and the night is the best time, for then we are not likely to be bothered by anything.

We have made earnest efforts to become Christians since we began drinking and eating this peyote, but many people say sarcastically that we have drunk ourselves into Christianity, and that we are demented. I am a peyote eater, but I have never found a demented person among them. We claim that there is virtue in the peyote. To you who do not believe and desire to find out let me quote the fourth chapter of the First Epistle of St. John:

"Beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God; because many false prophets are gone out into the world.

"Hereby know ye the spirit of God. Every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is of God."

We claim that you can not find out anything by standing off at a distance and only talking about it. We claim that some earthly things can have the virtue of God, for instance, the Bible, which is entirely made up of earthly material—the ink, the paper, the cover—yet it has survived the ages.

J. B.'s Account of the Leader of the Peyote[1]

(Pl. 3)

Among the Winnebago there is a man named Little-Red-Bird, and when he reached middle age he began to travel around the world and learn different Indian languages. He used to travel inland a good deal. Once he joined a circus and crossed the ocean. He felt so ill while crossing that he wanted to die. Suddenly a wind came up and he got very frightened. He did not know what to do. Then he prayed to Earthmaker. When he came to the other side of the ocean there he saw a big island and a big city (London), and in this last place they hold their circus. The chief of that country (the king) he met there.

When he came back to his own people he told them that on the other side of the ocean the Thunderbirds did not thunder. All they did was to drizzle. There was no lightning either. As he crossed the ocean on his return it thundered and lightened.

When he came home he was very glad to see his relatives and he offered tobacco in thanksgiving.

[1] The narrator was a very interesting fellow.

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Shortly after this he traveled again and came to a band of Indians who were eating peyote. It was his custom to try everything when he went visiting. He did not realize what he was doing when he ate this medicine, but he did it anyhow. After a while he began to think of his manner of life, and he felt that he was doing wrong. All the evil he had done he remembered. Then he prayed to God. Suddenly it occurred to him, "Perhaps I am the only one doing this." Then he looked around and watched the others, and he saw them praying in the same manner.

Not long after that he came home, taking with him some of this medicine. He knew it was holy. At home he offered tobacco to it and kept on eating it. Soon it cured him of a disease he had. He tried to induce some of the others to try it, but they refused. After a while a few tried it, and the peyote movement began to spread. All the old customs that they had been accustomed to observe they abandoned. They gave up the medicine dance and the ceremonies connected with the clans. For that reason, therefore, the conservative people hated them; their own brothers and sisters hated them, for they had abandoned what were considered holy ceremonies.

Albert Hensley's Account of the Peyote[1]

(Pls. 8, d; 9, d)

I am 37 years old. It was 37 years ago that my mother gave birth to me in an old-fashioned reed lodge. When I was a year old she died and my grandmother took care of me. I had come into the world a healthy child, but bad luck was apparently to pursue me, for when I was 7 years old my grandmother died. Then my father took care of me. At that time he began to be a bad man; he was a drunkard and a horse thief. He would frequently get into trouble and run away, always taking me along with him, however. On one occasion we fled to Wisconsin, and there we stayed two years. We got along pretty well, and there my father married again. By his second wife he had three children.

After a while he got into trouble again, and misfortune followed misfortune. People were killing each other, and I was left alone. If at any time of my life I was in trouble it was then. I was never happy. Once I did not have anything to eat for four days. We had fled to the wilderness, and it was raining continually. The country was flooded with high water, and we sat on the top of a tree. It was impossible to sleep, for if we went to sleep we would fall off into the water, which was very deep. The shore was quite far away. As we were prominent people, we soon heard that my

[1] This account is of great importance, because Hensley introduced a large number of Christian elements into the ceremony, the principal one being the Bible.

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159 father had been freed. We were very happy, and went back to our people.

At that time a young man named Young-Bear was starting for Nebraska, and he said that he would take me along. I was very happy. So in that manner I was brought to this country. Here I have had only happy days. When my father got married everyone disliked me. When I worked I was working for my father, and all the money I earned I had to give to him.

After a while I went to school, and although I liked it I ran away and then went to school at Carlisle. I wanted to lead a good life. At school I knew that they would take care of me and love me. I was very shy and lacked a strong character at that time. If a person told me to do anything I would always obey immediately. Everybody loved me. I stayed there six months. I was also taught [177] Christianity there. When I came back to my country the Episcopalian people told me that they wanted me to be diligent in religious matters and never to forsake the religion of the Son of God. I also desired to do that. I entered the church that we had in our country and I stayed with them six years.

At that time the Winnebago with whom I associated were heavy [273] drinkers, and after a while they induced me to drink also. I became as wicked as they. I learned how to gamble and I worked for the devil all the time. I even taught the Winnebago how to be bad.

159 After a while they began eating peyote, and as I was in the habit 276 of doing everything I saw, I thought I would do it, too. I asked 794 them whether I could join, and they permitted me. At that time I had a position at the county commissioner's office. I ate the peyote and liked it very much. Then the authorities tried to stop the Indians from eating peyote, and I was supposed to see that the law was enforced. I continued eating peyote and enjoying it. All the evil that was in me I forgot. From that time to the present my actions have been quite different from what they used to be. I am only working for what is good; not that I mean to say that I am good.

After that I married and now I have three children, and it would not have been right for me to continue in my wickedness. I resolved that thereafter I would behave as a grown-up man ought to behave. I resolved never to be idle again and to work so that I could supply my wife and children with food and necessities, that I would be ready to help them whenever they were in need. Here in my own country would I remain till I died. This (peyote) religion was good. All the evil is gone and hereafter I will choose my path carefully.

I know the story about the origin of the peyote. It is as follows:

794 Once in the south, an Indian belonging to the tribe called Mes-
539 callero Apache was roaming in the country called Mexico, and went hunting in the high hills and got lost. For three days he went with-

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JESSE CLAY'S ACCOUNT OF THE ARAPAHO MANNER OF GIVING THE PEYOTE CEREMONY WHICH HE INTRODUCED AMONG THE WINNEBAGO IN 1912

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I went to Oklahoma once as the guest of an Arapaho Indian. While there I witnessed the Arapaho manner of holding a peyote meeting and was very much impressed with it. A year later this Arapaho came to visit me in Winnebago, and while he was with us a few of my friends urged me to hold the peyote ceremony according to the Arapaho method. I held several meetings at which my Arapaho friend led.

Now these are the instructions that Arapaho Bull gave me.

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The person giving the ceremony must get up at sunrise so that he can tell exactly where the sun is going to rise. He must place a stick and make the drawing of a cross on the earth just in that direction from which the sun is about to rise. He does this in order to get the correct location for the tipi and the fireplace. Then he marks a circle around the cross. Then he makes a diagonal mark through the center of the circle, thus making the circle resemble a star. The circle is the outline of the tipi. Then another diagonal mark is made so that the drawing resembles, to their minds, a peyote. A fireplace which resembles a half-moon is placed right in the center of the lodge. After that the tipi poles are raised, 12 in number. Finally the whole is inclosed in canvas. When finished it is supposed to represent the earth. It is then ready to be entered. Special preparations are made for entering. The drummer with his drum and the leader and those behind him with all their regalia march up to the door. Before these enter, however, an attendant, called the fireman, spreads sage all over the lodge, from the seat of the leader to the door and back again. Then he starts a fire, always placing the left fire sticks first. When they are all thus lined up outside of the door the leader offers a prayer.

"May the Creator be with us when we enter this lodge."

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The leader now enters and, proceeding along the left side of the lodge, marches to his seat, and there he stands with his drum until the lodge is filled. After all have entered they sit down. Then the fireman who sits to the right rekindles the fire. The leader now spreads out his articles—a gourd, a drumstick, a staff, and the feathers. He then takes 12 sage leaves and lays them out in the form of a star, first making a cross-shaped object and then filling this into the desired form. On top he places the peyote, and, leaning against that, he places a flute made of an eagle bone, the mouth of the flute resting against the peyote. Then he puts an otter-skin cap at the foot of the flute. After a while the leader takes the peyote he is going to use in one hand and some cedar needles in the other,

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794 and, going to his seat, where all the other objects are spread out, he
796 sits down and prays. He prays that all the participants may be
276 strengthened by the prospective meeting. He offers up thanks for
177 the peyote and prays that all may be in the proper spirit that night.
Then he throws the needles in the fire and holds the peyote over the smoke of the cedar. When this has been finished he returns to his seat, eats one peyote, and gives one to the drummer. After they have eaten these he passes four peyote in turn to those on his left until the peyote comes to the one sitting nearest the door. Four peyote are given to the one nearest the door that he, in turn, may pass them to those on the other side of the door and so on until the leader is reached again. Before the peyote is eaten, the leader gets up and talks. He instructs the people as to the nature of the meeting and tells them that those who wish to go out must do so after the midnight water is drunk and not until after the leader returns from outside. No one is to go out while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote. He then speaks of the special prayers that are to be offered up and asks them to offer general prayers for all nonmembers and even for their enemies. After that the leader again offers up a prayer and smokes all the objects he had spread before his seat. Then the songs are to start, all, however, first eating peyote.

(When the fire first starts and thereafter, throughout the night, it is supposed to represent light, just as God said, "Let there be light.")

[533] The first song is always the same and is called the starting song. Those that follow are peyote songs. When he has finished these songs he passes the singing staff to the right of the drummer. When this one has finished the staff is returned to the leader, who passes it on to the left, and then in rotation it goes to the one sitting near the door. The drum, when it is handed on, is always passed under the staff. The fire is always replenished, but toward midnight special care is taken in this regard and the coals are placed in the shape of a crescent between the fire and the earth crescent, and the fireman sweeps first around the left and then around the right side. Then exactly at midnight the leader calls for his singing staff and

[533] his drum, no matter where they happen to be, and, taking the singing staff and sending the drum to the drummer, he blows his flute and sings. The song he sings then is called the midnight song. After that three peyote songs are sung, it making no difference which they are. As the leader starts his midnight song the fireman takes up his position at the doorway opposite the fireplace and the leader. When the second song is started the fireman turns around to the right and goes out and gets water and soon comes back with it.

[788] When he reenters he makes the figure of a cross on the ground where he stood just before he left and places water on it. Then he squats down on his knees.

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When the leader stops singing he walks to the crescent by the fireplace and begins praying again. After the prayer he burns some more cedar needles. The reason for drinking water at midnight is because Christ was born at midnight and because of the good tidings that he brought to the earth, for water is one of the best things in life and Christ is the savior of mankind. After the leader has made his prayer and the cedar is burned, then the fireman reaches over toward the smoke and makes a motion with his body as if he were drawing the smoke over himself. He then takes the water and brings it over to the leader. The leader takes a bunch of feathers and, dipping it into the water, sprinkles it on the peyote, then on the fire, on the sage, and finally all over the lodge, beginning with the doorway and then going around. The water is then drunk in a regular order, first by the leader, then by the drummer, and then by all the other people. After all these things have been done the leader returns the staff to the man from whom he had taken it at midnight. As soon as this man starts the singing again the leader takes his flute and goes outside. He goes toward the east for a short distance, and there he sits down and offers up a prayer for the people. Then he blows his flute, and going to the south of the lodge repeats the same procedure. This is also repeated for the west and the north. When the singing within the lodge has stopped, he returns and takes his seat.

The purpose of going to the four directions and blowing the flute is to announce the birth of Christ to all the world.

After the leader has reentered the singing continues as before. At daybreak the fireman fixes the fire in the same way as at midnight. The staff, drum, etc., is now passed to the leader, who as soon as he has received everything takes his flute and blows on it. Before doing this, however, he puts on his otter-skin cap. The purpose of blowing the flute just at that time is to represent the trumpet of the Day of Judgment, when Christ will appear wearing His crown in all glory. The putting on of the otter-skin cap represents the crown.

The song used on this occasion is called the water song. After the first song is finished the fireman opens the door and a woman enters carrying water, which she pours over the cross which the fireman had sprinkled at midnight. The fireman then spreads something for her to sit on, between the water and the door.

When the leader has finished his four songs, he lays down his staff, etc., and, taking some cedar needles, offers up a prayer of thanks, and as he finishes he throws the cedar into the fire and sits down while the woman gathers the smoke toward her in the same way as the fireman had done on the previous night. Then the leader takes a drinking cup and sends it toward the woman. The

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794 fireman now rises and pours water on the impressions he had made
796 when drawing the cross on the earth, and the woman drinks some
177 water from the cup, which she then returns to the leader. The water is then returned to her and she passes it around the lodge, beginning at the left. When it reaches the leader again, he takes out the same cup which he had handed to the woman and drinks out of it. The water, however, is passed on until it reaches the door. The fireman would then take it and bring it back to where it had been placed when first brought in. The woman rises and goes around the fireplace from left to right, taking the water with her. Finally the leader takes his singing staff and sings four songs. When these songs are finished, the woman places some food just outside the door. The fireman goes outside and brings in this food, placing it in a line between the fire and the door. Four things are brought in—water, [262] corn with sweetened water, fruit, and meat. When the food is brought in the leader puts away all the objects he had spread out before him, which the fireman takes out of the lodge. The leader then offers up a prayer of thanks and says grace. The four kinds of food are passed around the lodge, beginning with the entrance, from left to right. After they are returned they are placed in line again, only in the reverse order from that used before. The fireman then takes them outside. While the people are eating the door remains open.

(During the evening the leader represents the first created man, the woman dressed up is the New Jerusalem, the bride waiting for the bridegroom. The cup used by the leader and the woman is supposed to symbolize the fact that they are to become one; the water represents the God's gift, His Holiness. The corn represents the feast to be partaken of on the Day of Judgment and the fruit represents the fruit of the tree of life. The meat represents the message of Christ and those who accept it will be saved.)[1]

794 The above descriptions represent the Peyote cult as it was given between 1908 and 1913. It is quite clear that a definite organization exists consisting of a unit of five positions occupied by the leader and four helpers. No specific requirements, with the exception, of course, of that of being a peyote eater, are associated with the right to occupy these positions.

No specialized features have become associated with the positions of the four helpers. As indicated before, John Rave is always the leader when he is present, but the position of leadership can be delegated to others. This is always of a temporary nature. It may be significant to note that whenever delegated the leadership is always delegated to men who have been among the first of the converts outside of Rave's immediate family, and who were leaders in the old

[1] J. C.'s account ends here.

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throughout, both from his own testimony and from that of others, seems to have been practically the attitude of the Winnebago shaman. He even offered tobacco to the peyote.

We have, then, at the beginning the introduction of apparently only one new element—the peyote, with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned there was hardly anything new at all. This view does not, of course, interfere in the least with the fact that to the Winnebago themselves the presence of the peyote represented the introduction of a new element.

The elaboration of the peyote practices at Rave's hands is the most difficult problem to trace on account of the lack of data. In the account that he gives of his conversion there is no evidence whatsoever of any antagonistic attitude toward the old Winnebago manner of living. When the author met him, however, for the first time, in 1908, this passive attitude had changed to one of violent hatred for the old Winnebago customs. Why and under what circumstances this change took place we do not know. It probably represented the interaction of many elements, the hostility of the tribe, the drawing of lines sharply around certain points, and the gradual assumption on the part of Rave of the rôle of a prophet who had solved the problem of the adjustment of the Winnebago to the surrounding white civilization. Offhand, one might be inclined to believe that Rave's insistence upon breaking with the past was due entirely to the influence of the Christian elements incorporated in his new religion. It is, however, extremely doubtful whether such an assumption is necessary. There seem to have been comparatively few Christian elements in the religion before Albert Hensley's influence had made itself felt, yet many of the old war bundles had been destroyed long before that time, and the peyote eaters were looked upon with cordial dislike by the conservative members of the tribe. The admonition that only a complete break with the past could save the Winnebagoes and enable them to compete successfully with the white intruders had been given to the Winnebagoes once before by the famous Shawnee prophet. What the latter claimed, however, was that the various sacred objects used by the Winnebago had lost their power, and that that power must now be renewed. This he thought could only be done by returning to the old manner of living which he claimed the Winnebago were no longer following. Such a claim was, after all, not revolutionary. It is not, therefore, the break with the Winnebago present-day viewpoint that characterizes Rave's attitude, but the fact that instead of returning to the older, purer

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life as the Shawnee prophet proposed to do, he substituted an alien religion. It was because he was introducing an alien religion, not because he was introducing a new religion, that he was so intensely hated by the conservative members of the tribe.

When this hostility was at its height a new convert, Albert Hensley, revolutionized the entire cult by introducing the reading of the Bible, postulating the dogma that the peyote opened the Bible to the understanding of the people, and also adding a number of Christian practices. He, like Rave, had been in Oklahoma. He brought back with him many peyote songs, generally in other languages, dealing with Christian ideas, upon which subsequently Winnebago songs were modeled. He also introduced either baptism itself or an interpretation of baptism, and induced Rave to attempt a union with the Christian Church. He seems to have been the only prominent man connected with the peyote who was subject to epileptic fits. He had the most glorious visions of heaven and hell while in his trance, and these he expounded afterwards in terms of Revelation and the mystical portions of the New Testament. Hensley's additions represent a second stratum of borrowed elements, all of which are in the nature of accretions as far as the peyote itself is concerned. The Bible is explained in terms of the peyote. Neither Hensley nor his followers ever interpreted the peyote in terms of the Bible, although other elements of the old Winnebago culture were so interpreted. These elements, however, represented features that even in the old Winnebago cults exhibited a great variability in interpretation.

Rave's attitude toward the innovations of Hensley seems to have been that of a benevolent acquiescence. He himself could neither read nor write. Yet he immediately accepted the Bible and added it to his other regalia. As such it always seems to have remained. To Rave, after all, the peyote was the principal element, and if Hensley chose to insist that the Bible was only intelligible to those who partook of the peyote why that naturally fell within its magical powers. From the entire omission in Rave's account of the Peyote cult of the more important things that Hensley introduced and from the fact that whenever Hensley's influence was not dominant there seems to have been little Bible reading, it seems justifiable to say that Rave's attitude toward these innovations was merely passive.

There never was any rivalry between Rave and Hensley. The latter was, however, a much younger man, quick-tempered, conceited, dogmatic, and withal having a strong mixture of Puritan Protestant ideas. A conflict developed after a while and in a very interesting manner. Rave had allowed a man with an extremely bad reputation, who had been admitted as a member of the Peyote cult, to occupy one of the four positions. Hensley violently pro-

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578 794 159 tested, on the ground that a man of X.'s character could not properly perform the rites associated with that position. Rave, however, retorted that the efficacy of the peyote, of any position connected with its cult, was in no way connected with the character of the performer, and that it was inherent in the peyote and in the Peyote ritual. Thereupon, after much parleying to and fro, Hensley formally seceded, taking with him a number of followers. The bulk of the peyote eaters, however, remained with Rave, and within a comparatively short time a number of Hensley's followers returned to Rave, so that in 1911 Hensley had merely a handful of people. Since then he has ceased to be a force, although his innovations have been retained by a number of the younger Peyote members, especially by those who read English.

In 1911 there was no unification of the ideas of Rave and Hensley. Since then, strange to say, although Hensley's attempt to set up his own religion failed utterly, his ideas and Christian innovations seemed to have triumphed completely. This, however, has gone hand in hand with a marked dropping off of enthusiasm. It appears now as if the Peyote cult has run its course. Some of the members have recently returned to the old pagan customs, others have practically become Christians, and many have become indifferent.

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794 177 159 Unquestionably the most interesting of recent innovations is that introduced by Jesse Clay, the account of which has been given before. This is, of course, the Arapaho manner of conducting the ceremony. At the present time it has none of the characteristics of the Winnebago ceremonial. Whether in the next few years it will develop any depends upon the interest manifested in it by the Peyote worshipers and upon the vitality of the Peyote movement in general.

It is extremely suggestive to compare what Rave introduced with the ceremony borrowed by Clay. The former introduced an isolated element, the peyote and its worship, and clothed it almost immediately in characteristic Winnebago forms. It can truly be said that although the peyote is an alien element, from the Winnebago viewpoint, everything else in the ceremony is and was from the beginning typically Winnebago. Clay's method of conducting the Peyote ceremonies, on the other hand, is entirely alien. For it ever to become popular with the large mass of Winnebago it will have to become thoroughly assimilated with the Winnebago background.

Dissemination of the Doctrine

Let us now see how the ideas of Rave and Hensley were transmitted in the tribe itself, who the first and the later converts were, in what the nature of their conversion consisted, and what they, in turn, brought to the new cult.

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What the Converts Introduced

794 177 It is quite impossible to establish now what these converts introduced individually. For that matter it is not necessary to assume that they brought any specific additions to the cult. What they did bring were Winnebago; and with that, the emotional and cultural setting of the old pagan background. To one, the eating of the peyote gave the same magical powers that were formerly associated with membership in the medicine dance; to another, the visions were direct blessings from God, directing him to perform certain actions; to a third, faithfulness to the teachings of the Peyote cult became associated with a certainty of reaching God, of being able to take the right road in the journey to the spirit land. Even a man so thoroughly saturated with Christian doctrines as Hensley himself felt it necessary to introduce an origin myth; and although we know that he borrowed it from a southern tribe, it is quite clear that in Hensley's narrative it has already assumed all the characteristics of a Winnebago fasting experience and ritualistic myth, similar to those connected with the founders of the old Winnebago cult societies. In its totality the atmosphere of the Peyote cult became thus charged with the old Winnebago background. In 1911 it can not be said that they had displaced the distinctive Christian elements. Among the younger members, especially those who had been trained in the east and could read and write English, the influence of the Christian ideas in the interpretation of the old pagan features is, as was pointed out before, as strong to-day that it threatens to displace the others.

The following homily will show how the old myths were used by the younger Peyote members to point a tale.

794 773 The old people often spoke of the Trickster, but we never knew what they meant. They told us how he wrapped a coon-skin blanket around himself and went to a place where all the people were dancing. There he danced until evening and then he stopped and turned around. No one was to be seen anywhere, and then he realized that he had mistaken for people dancing the noise made by the wind blowing through the reeds.

[381 829] So do we Winnebagoes act. We dance and make a lot of noise, but in the end, we accomplish nothing.

Once, as the Trickster was going toward a creek, he saw a man standing on the other side, dressed in a black suit, and pointing his finger at him. He spoke to the man but the latter would not answer. Then he spoke again and again, but without receiving any reply. Finally he got angry and said, "See here! I can do that too." He put on the black coat and pointed his finger across the creek. Thus both of them stood all day. Toward evening, when he looked around again, he noticed that the man across the creek, pointing his finger at him, was really just a tree stump. "O my! what have I been doing all

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794 578 fested itself upon the first introduction of the peyote. As we have seen, there was in the beginning little difference between the beliefs relating to the peyote and those connected with the old Winnebago medicinal plants. Nevertheless the author was assured that hostility was exhibited to the new cult from the very start. Would the same hostility have been exhibited had this new feature represented some development from within the tribe? In other words, what it would be interesting to know, is whether the fact that the peyote was derived from without led to a hostility different in kind from that exhibited toward an innovation developing within the culture itself. No evidence could be obtained that would justify us in explaining the hostility felt by the older conservative Winnebago as due in any part to the fact that it was alien in origin. Certain elements that to-day form an integral part of the most popular of all Winnebago ceremonies [177] were borrowed from the Sauk and Iowa, and the Winnebago realize this and mention it in the introductory myths told in connection with the preparatory rites of the medicine dance. The explanation obtained was always the same—that the hostility was due to the fact that the teachings of the Peyote people departed from those of their ancestors and that the Peyote were simply aping the habits and customs of the whites. What seems to have met with the greatest [175 177] opposition from the older shamans was the denial of the doctrine of reincarnation. The Christian doctrine of the immortality of the soul does not seem to have been felt as a substitute at all. One old conservative assured the author that he had long ago prophesied the appearance of the peyote among the Winnebago. He told the author the following:

[176] "This medicine is one of the four spirits from below, and for that reason it is a bad thing. These spirits have always longed for human beings and now they are getting hold of them. Those who use this medicine claim that when they die they will only be going on a long journey. But that is not the truth, for when they eat peyote they [175] destroy their spirits, and death to them will mean extermination. If I spit upon the floor, the sputum will soon dry up and nothing will remain of it. So death will be for them. I might go out and preach against this doctrine, but it would be of no avail, for I certainly would not be able to draw more than one or two people away from this spirit. Many will be taken in by this medicine; they will not be able to help themselves in any way. The bad spirit will certainly seize them."

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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the Night Spirits. All the warriors who possessed war bundles would of necessity have to receive blessings from these, although in different cases one or the other may have bestowed the more important powers.

The prominence given to the Thunderbird in the first and to the Night Spirits in the second division give the ceremony a most marked resemblance to societies like the Night Spirit society. In the second division it is even essential to have been blessed by the Night Spirits in order to play a certain rôle. There would thus develop the consciousness of community of interest due to the fact that as individuals they were bound together by blessings received from the same spirits, a feeling that was certain to be still further strengthened since, in all likelihood, most of the possessors of war bundles belonged to societies where this actually was the common bond. The religious and ceremonial aspect would thus of necessity be reinforced. The prayers for success on the warpath of course always existed, but as the extraneous religious and ceremonial influences became stronger and more insistent and as and thus should never be forgotten the pursuit of war became less and less important, owing to the breaking down of the culture consequent upon the advent of the whites, these extraneous factors became, if not dominant at least almost equal in importance to the historically older aspect; and our original gathering of warriors, while still remaining a gathering of warriors, also became a ceremonial organization, in which offerings were made to the entire Winnebago pantheon of spirits. The great war spirits were still all-important, but their position was contested by so distinctive a peace deity as Earthmaker and such deities as Earth, Moon, and Water. The prayers for success in war were perhaps still the most insistent, but prayers for life, not life merely that success in war may be longer, but prayers for the whole content of life, were offered up. Disease-giver was appealed to not merely to bestow upon man the greatest of all war honors, killing an enemy right in the midst of his tribesmen, but also to ward off disease from the supplicants.

Still, as great as have been these extraneous influences, the character of the feast as originally one purely connected with war comes out in numerous ways in the association, for instance, of war powers with Earthmaker, Moon, and Earth, and significantly enough, in the absence of the more specific religious associations such as are met with in the Medicine dance.

Let us turn now to the development of the organization of the feast. The development of a fixed type of organization is not absolutely necessary. Societies may exist only for certain occasions, such as the return from a warpath, like the Hâk'txe're dance or preparatory to the starting of a war party, and be practically nonexistent afterwards. Such are the temporary war feasts of the Ojibway, for instance. However, one all important circumstance prevented this

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
NP12 Winnebago NP12

The buckskin to be offered to Earthmaker is marked with a cross in green. It is quite possible that the association of the cross with Earthmaker is due to Christian influence. But if this actually has been the case it is far more likely that the Christian influence led not to the actual borrowing of the Christian cross, but rather to the identification of an old Winnebago ceremonial symbol, namely, the crossed lines representing the cardinal points, with the cross, and its association with Earthmaker (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Thunderbirds is marked with three semicircular lines, the first red, the second white, and the third blue, to represent a rainbow (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Night Spirits is marked with four parallel lines in charcoal (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to Disease-giver is marked by dipping the three middle fingers in red paint and impressing them 12 times upon the buckskin in three vertical columns, with four impressions in each column. In addition to this an eagle feather is tied to each corner of the buckskin (pl. 48).

The buckskin to be offered to the Sun is marked with an image of the sun in red (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Moon is marked with an image of the moon in any of its phases in green (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to South Wind is marked in the same way as that to Disease-giver, except that green paint is used. A red eagle feather is attached to each end of the buckskin (pl. 47).

The buckskin to be offered to the Morning Star is marked with an image of a star in black outline (pl. 47).

These are the spirits to whom buckskins are offered in the ceremony about to be described, but the other clans seem to show variations in some offerings. Thus, for example, the spirit called "Without-horns" (Hĕ'rok'a) receives the offering of a buckskin in some cases. The marking for him is always a bow and arrow in charcoal. In another case Fire and Turtle receive buckskin offerings. Their markings are pictures of fire and turtle.

While the host is busy thus marking the buckskins the attendants put the meat in the kettles and place the same on the various fireplaces. There are always one or two extra kettles prepared for the women and children.

The lodge extends from east to west and has only one entrance, on the east end. The host sits to the left as you enter and opposite him sits the guest of honor, who is, of course, different in each clan, but in the ceremony to be described he belongs to the Bear clan. Then, in definite order, sit the other guests, each one opposite a fireplace. The women and children sit separated from the others at the extreme western end of the lodge (see fig. 38).

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

AMONG THE WINNEBAGO

By Huron H. Smith*

During the summer of 1928, the writer made a study of the Winnebago Indians, in line with his former ethnobotanical studies of other Indians of Wisconsin. After having worked with four tribes who were all of Algonkian stock, it was interesting to encounter these people who are related to the Sioux. The four tribes previously studied were the Menomini, Meskwaki, Ojibwe, and Potawatomi. The first two are the subjects of Nos. 1 and 2 of Volume IV of the bulletin of this museum, while the publications on the latter two are in preparation.

While all of the Algonkian languages are different from one another, they are at least similar enough to enable the student to grasp the likeness in a short time. In fact, Potawatomi is quite similar to Ojibwe, a sort of an abbreviated Ojibwe, as it were. Some of the medicinal words evidently point to a common origin, for exactly the same name is sometimes used for a plant by all four tribes. A careful study of Indian plant names reveals those unnamed plants that came into their region within historic times, as non-native or adventive species. The use of plants is a vital topic among Indians, and their plant lore is handed down from generation to generation. Most of our Wisconsin adventive plants have come into the State in the last hundred years, and a goodly proportion of these in the last forty years. Indians are not apt to take the white man's word for the medicinal use of the adventive plant, so that their lack of an Indian name for the plant in question, is sure evidence that it is a new comer. When we consider how long it must have taken these people to acquire their medicinal knowledge, doubtless by the old process of "trial and error," we wonder how many more centuries must elapse before they learn the uses of adventive species.

The Winnebago are particularly zealous in giving everything Winnebago names, if possible, and should there be some conspicuous attribute to an adventive plant, it will probably have a name in their language. Questioning will bring out the reason for the name and also whether or not they know a use for the plant. They have regular words for tea

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4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

and coffee, which were, of course, unknown to them before the coming of the White Man. Other tribes in Wisconsin have made no attempt to set up their own words for these, but call them by their English names as nearly as they can pronounce them. This trait of the Winnebago is often amusing. For example the watermelon was unknown to them until about seventy-five years ago. The first recipient of a watermelon among them considered it a pumpkin, cut it up into small pieces, and boiled it in a pot. The resultant product was scarcely edible, so led to the appellation of "wicawasukela"—"a pumpkin that did'nt get ripe." But later, they discovered that the whites ate them just as they were; and upon trying this they discovered their merit, and have been very fond of them ever since. But the first name stuck, and it is thus called to this day.

While we had met Winnebago before this summer, we had never attempted to discourse at length on their uses of plants. In 1923, we first met Frank Smith, "makiwika," with his wife who was making baskets, in Minocqua where we admired her art. Every year since we have seen Frank at some Indian pow-wow or other. During the "Pageant of Progress," in Milwaukee, July, 1926, Frank and his new Ojibwe wife were at the Indian Village on the lake front, with Mr. H. L. Mumm, of Wausau, demonstrating Indian arts and crafts. There, too, we met two other Winnebago workers, Jim Henniger and his wife, although the Indians in the village proper were all full-blooded Ojibwe from Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin. The museum is also fortunate in having the friendship of Ulysses A. White, of Wisconsin Rapids, who was formerly employed in Milwaukee. Mr. White is a pure blooded Winnebago, as is his wife, a quite uncommon occurrence in these times of inter-tribal marriages. He introduced to the Museum, John Bear, of Wisconsin Rapids, another old Winnebago Indian, through whom Mr. W. C. McKern, Associate Curator of Anthropology, of the Museum, has been able to collect some interesting ancient Winnebago stories. Mr. Bear spent the entire winter of 1927-1928 at the Museum, and was helped in his work by Mr. White. All of this preliminary work was the subject of several conferences between the writer and Mr. McKern at which we became acquainted with the linguistics of the Winnebago and listed the plant names used in the various stories.

The first trip of the summer was to Trempealeau, where the Museum was conducting archeological investigations which the writer, as President of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, wished to see. Furthermore Mr. McKern had written that there were Winnebago Indians in Trempealeau. These proved to be a family living in the old brewery at the edge of the village, but they were from Winnebago, Nebraska, and were not familiar with the Wisconsin plants. The field party, however, interested us for a week. The Museum camp was established in Perrot State Park, on the banks of the Trempealeau River near its

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP 12 Winnebago NP 12

$35 per thousand for number three size. The "buttons" are really branches of the Peyote Cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*), a small compact cactus growing from southern Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico down into old Mexico. The peyote religion was introduced to the Indians of the United States by peyote cults, among the Indians of Mexico. The Government strictly forbids possession of or traffic in these buttons, but the number of converts to the cult is on the increase. 276 435 795 276 795

On the other hand, the peyote Indians among the Winnebago have little regard for the medicine lodge Indians. They consider them benighted, old-fashioned and unwise. When an Indian joins peyote, according to them, he sees the error of his ways and the sacred, ceremonial objects of his past become of no value to him. In such cases, the field collector of some museum finds it easy to acquire excellent specimens of sacred objects. While still in use, an Indian would not part with his medicine bundle for money, but once it has been superseded by a change in faith, he becomes glad to realize almost anything for it. Such a bundle is valued by anthropologists according to the sacred objects it contains. 178

The peyote people that we met near Wisconsin Rapids did not bear out the poor name given them by the old pagans. They were industrious and proud of their religion. The peyote cult, there, shows considerable Christian missionary influence, in their acceptance of Jesus Christ as their deity. The medicine lodge people have never been interested in the translation of the Lord's Prayer but the Winnebago peyote followers use it as a chanted peyote song. It is called *Hilukanala gikaraj hanila*, (Lord prayer his). It follows thus: 795 177 539

Hiaujinwila wagregi shanagre, lash hashinila wakajak nigigidek•jena.

"Our Father in heaven who dwells your name holy (let us) keep it. *Hunkwa hashini'a hilaijik•jawina. Woshga hashinila manegi* Kingdom your come down (on earth). Doing yours on earth *uiuck•jena wagregi jaske hinaki sheske manegi hilek•jena. Hampdec* should in heaven like doing same on earth should be. This day *waiskapduc hanawila hunkuwianjc. Egi wazawoishana waniwila* bread daily ours give us. And then sins ours *waigitunawila wazahigishana waniwila waigitunawila sheke. Egi inke* forgive us sins yours and yours forgive us same. And then don't *wazawoishana unahieja hinutiwinine Ezi wowak•jega egi hingijilawige* (into) temptations deliver us. Our Lord and help us *kishipuiwine. Hunkmara nchashinigaja Egi homashjala nchashinigaja* get away Kingdom thy and power thy *Egi haishagra nchashinigaja manegus•la jeskek•jena.*
and glory thy forever Amen."

It will be noted that the Winnebago even have a word for "Amen," meaning to some extent "let it be that way," whereas among the Menomini Indians they have not translated it but articulate it as we do — Amen. [192]

4:Smith N-5 (1928) 1929 NP12 Winnebago NP12

177 539 795

—Amen. For the sake of those who think all Indians speak alike, we append in a footnote the Lord's Prayer in Menomini."

194 [202]

The Winnebago have a syllabary which all of them use in writing. It is an arbitrary system and has nothing to do with the ethnologist's way of recording their sounds. It was thus set down by Fred Mallory The first letter always has the sound of a as in arm and the pronunciation of the first line would be ha, he, hi, ho.

A	ae	ai	ao		k	ke	ki	ko	
w	we	wi	wo		a	e	i	o	
m	me	mi	mo		l	le	li	lo	
n	ne	ni	no		t	te	ti	to	(explosive)
l	le	li	lo	(ja)	tt	tte	tti	tto	(cha chay chi cho)
y	ye	yi	yo	(ga)					
r	reke	reki	roko	(ska ske ski sko)					
s	se	si	so						
h	he	hi	ho						
g	ge	gi	go						

Indian syllabaries are interesting but of no ethnological value.

539 575 756

Fred Mallory's wife was initiated into the medicine lodge when she was thirteen years old, but since both are now peyote followers, they said there is nothing wrong in their telling the writer about their early history. Their story is as follows: In the early days, there were two brothers, Konuga, the eldest, and Henaka. (These names still apply to the order of birth,—the third son is *Hagaga*, and the fourth, *Nahiga*. The same with girls, the first is *Hinuga*, second, *Wihunga*, third, *Hinahega*, fourth, *Hakasiaga*.) The two brothers were at Kilbourn on an island in the Wisconsin River—*Nikusa*. One, Konuga, told the other he saw a spirit in the water and Henaka also saw a spirit, but Konuga saw it first, so it was *his* spirit. It was purple in color and rose from the depths of the water and sank down again. A sort of quarrel developed between them as to whose spirit should be followed, but when Hagaga, the third son entered the argument, they both united against him. Hagaga was as wise as an owl, and knew more than the other

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"*Nechuxusa kesekak apesa. Nas ta kat kes achpechtaxechton*
"Our Father in heaven who dwells. Let it be honored

kiwichuxun. Nas ta kat pimikat kitokxuxuin. Anaxechiaxun nas ta
thy name. Let it come thy kingdom. As the Lord wishes it to

kat exkxuxkat tep kesekak mitik ini achkibe. Mexach
be done like heaven so here (on earth) the same. Give us

iachpe ni kesekak wepakinigaxuxuxun achtaxachkin kexigaxun. Panikatatawesch
now as in heaven bread our daily and every day as we live. Forgive us

nuwin kain nachkechkaxun nin panikitatawakichtu kain
and those we had angered you, as we forgive those

nechkikiaxechtuc. Pan minis ikiaxech kakitzipanichtaxuc.
that trespassed against us. Lead us not into temptation.

Makaxuxuxech la minis. Amen.
Take it away from us. Amen."

5: McKern E-5 (1927) 1929
NP12 Winnebago NP12

[p. 146]

A WINNEBAGO WAR-BUNDLE CEREMONY

By W. C. McKern*

182 The primitive religious ceremonies of the Winnebago Indians are
796 not destined long to survive. Not only is the new generation forgetting
or deliberately neglecting the traditions of the old order, due to the
[177 growing influence of encroaching white civilization, but the conversion
276] of many of the older members of the tribe to the Peyote faith has
795 thinned the ranks of the Medicine Lodge to a marked extent. Many
of those responsible for introducing this new Christian cult among the
Winnebago are still alive. Its unabated ascendency in the favor of the
Indians is proportionate to the decline of ancient religious practices.

114 However, meetings of the old order still are held, and are in some
796 measure successful, due largely to the fact that many of the Peyote

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[For the effect of the acculturation situation on one individual see the complete text of the autobiography of Crashing Thunder, category 116.]

177

[For information on the Peyote Cult, a cult which contains marked Christian features, see category 116, pp. 169-202.]

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

My Release from Prison

to them for me to use. Later on, in the fall, when the cranberry season had started, I lived with three women. I never did any work, but simply went from woman to woman. Then the annuity payment was made, and I went around chasing the payment. I sold my horses and spent the money I had.

About this time my father and mother asked me to come to Nebraska. I had been told that my father and mother had joined the peyote people and were eating peyote, and I did not like it. These peyote eaters were doing wrong, were wicked, and that is why I disliked them. Old Thunder Cloud, my brother-in-law, told us the following about them:

"This medicine, the peyote,[30] is one of the four spirits from below. That is why it is bad. These four spirits have always longed for human beings, and now they are getting ahold of them. Those who use the peyote claim that when they die, they will only be going on a

[30] The peyote is a small cactus common in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, out of which from time immemorial an intoxicating drink has been prepared. The ancient Mexicans were well acquainted with it. For a number of centuries it has been the center of various cults all of which contained marked Christian features. It is only within the last fifty to seventy-five years, however, that some of these cults have spread into the United States. It is from some of the tribes now living in Oklahoma that the Winnebago borrowed it.

The Winnebago either eat the peyote button in its dried state or drink a concoction prepared from it. The effects are various. Every one, however, seems to be agreed upon its causing wonderful color visions. The after effects vary with the individual. I have seen some practically in a state of stupor after eating a large quantity of the buttons, while others seem entirely unaffected and go on with their day's work as though nothing had happened.

The use of the Bible is an entirely new element introduced by the Winnebago.

8:Lurie E-5 (1945-1950)1953 NP12 Winnebago NP12

WINNEBAGO BERDACHE

By NANCY OESTREICH LURIE

THE following account draws attention to the fact that the berdache role was still evident in Winnebago culture until close to the turn of the century, and adds somewhat to the data of certain clear cultural parallels between this Woodland Siouan group and such Plains Siouan tribes as the Omaha, Oto, Iowa and Ponca. The description is not complete and certain points are equivocal. Thus, all of the available ethnographic documentation will be presented so that anyone intending to use the information will be able to assess its value. The description given here agrees, Dr. Raul Radin said in a conversation, with his unpublished Winnebago data.

During the course of general field investigations conducted from time to time during the years 1945 to 1947, it was apparent that Winnebago informants in Wisconsin tended to be reticent to discuss the matter of the berdache. Their embarrassment may indicate that knowledge of the subject was withheld. However, even where excellent rapport existed and individuals became sufficiently interested in the topic to question people who might not speak directly to an ethnographer, some details remain uncertain. Furthermore, while the last berdache died somewhat over fifty years ago, the picture is confused by the former tendency of Winnebago culture to invest given forms of traits with opposite meanings and functions when used under different circumstances. At the present time, the recollections of many informants reveal that they know only half of the total function of given forms, or that they attempt to synthesize features which now appear as contradictory.

While it was noted in 1950 that the Nebraska Winnebago were quite willing to speak of matters that in Wisconsin are still considered sacred or as things to be kept secret from whites, the Nebraska Winnebago simply knew less about older traditions.

It was agreed generally that the berdache was a man who had taken on this role because he had been directed to do so by the moon, a female spirit, at the time of his vision quest. The berdache dressed as a woman, performed women's tasks better than any normal woman could perform them, and had the ability to foretell future events. However, not all Winnebago prophets were berdaches. One informant mentioned that berdaches sometimes married other men, but no data were obtained concerning the attitude of the society toward the husband of a berdache. Most informants felt that the berdache was at one time a highly honored and respected person, but that the Winnebago had become ashamed of the custom because the white people thought it was amusing or evil. By the time the last known berdache attempted to fulfill the role, his brothers threatened to kill him if he "put on the skirt." This berdache then affected a combination of male and female clothing, fearing that he would die if he did not at least attempt to follow the directions given him in his vision of the moon.